Discovery

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JEWISH MODERNITY IN MULTIPLICITY: MAURYCY GOTTLIEB'S DIALECTICALLY HYBRID JEWISH/POLISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

In Central Europe, especially in Poland, in the second half of the 19th century, Jewish artists engaged in a very particular form of nationalist discourse. Partly emulating their non-Jewish neighbors, Jewish artists sought to find visual manifestations to explain their layered subjectivities and identities. This study examines the work of Maurycy Gottlieb, a Jewish/Polish artist whose paintings exemplify the negotiation of Jewish identity with Polish national culture. Gottlieb attempted to manifest a visual form that simultaneously expressed his Jewish identity, his status as an Other in the eyes of the non-Jewish Pole, and his desire to be a constructive member of Polish society. Through dramatizations of the Self, Gottlieb's use of self-portraiture—I argue—engages with the multiplicity of Central European culture, built on dynamic subjectivities and allegiances. The resulting identity Gottlieb expressed in his art is one of hybridity that shows a continual sense of belonging to oft-conceived mutually exclusive groups. As a result of his dialectically woven multiplicities of identity, we can use Gottlieb's self-portraits to challenge the presumed homogeneity of cultural ethnonationalism often associated with the Central European region of his time. This study is part of a call to explore how multiple versions of national identity were simultaneously created in the region before ethnonationalism emerged as dominant after World War I.

KEYWORDS

Gottlieb Maurycy, Matejko Jan; 19th century; Portrait; Poland; Jewish; Romanticism; Self-portrait; Hybridity; Identity; Painting; Othering; Contact zone; National Identity; Habsburg

After nearly a century away from the public eye, Maurycy Gottlieb's 1874 *Self-Portrait in Polish Nobleman's Dress* (Fig. 1) was rediscovered in a storage facility in New York City in 2019. After being quietly removed from its original Viennese collection in 1936 and into a private collection in New York, Gottlieb's self-portrait, which blends the artist's Jewish ethnicity with his desire to be a part of the Polish nation, was believed to be lost to the annals of history. The painting went to auction after its rediscovery and restoration, where it was purchased anonymously and put on display in the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw in 2021.[1] In this painting, as with much of his oeuvre, the Jewish/Polish artist Gottlieb (1856–1879) expresses his layered subjectivity.[2] Even though he is considered one of the first modern Jewish artists, Gottlieb dresses in this self-portrait as a member of the Catholic Polish gentry while also depicting himself as an ethnically marked Jew. He sports a black military uniform beneath a blue fur-lined

Fig. 1: Maurycy Gottlieb, *Self-Portrait in Polish Nobleman's Dress*, 1874, oil on canvas, 81.3 × 63.7 cm. POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw (Photo: POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw).

Fig. 2: Walenty Wańkowicz, *Portrait of Adam Mickiewicz on the Rock of Judah*, 1827–1828, oil on canvas, 148 cm × 58.2 cm. National Museum in Warsaw (Photo: National Museum in Warsaw).

cape, his hand on the hilt of a sword. By making these sartorial decisions, Gottlieb aligns himself, a Jew, with Polish insurgents who fought for independence in the 1863 January Uprising in the Russian-controlled area of the former Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Throughout his short career, Gottlieb, who died suddenly at the age of 23, painted numerous self-portraits that reveal an unconventional understanding of Jewish identity. Situated at a nexus of Jewish and Polish, modern and traditional, and the Self and Other, Gottlieb's artistic practice is challenging to define. Instead of engaging in the bourgeoning conception of ethnonational identity of the time, Gottlieb consciously enacted a visual representation of dialectically intertwined Jewish and Polish identities, which countered the solidifying conception of what it meant to be a Pole, as seen, for instance, in Walenty Wańkowicz's 1828 portrait of Adam Mickiewicz (Fig. 2). With his portrait of the national poet, Wańkowicz capitalized on Mickiewicz's popularity as one of the stateless nation's

most prominent poetic voices—and a figure who became a model for the quintessential Pole. As a citizen of the Austrian Empire born after the failed revolutions of 1848, Gottlieb, born in Drohobych, then part of the Austrian crownland of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (encompassing territories now divided between western Ukraine and south-eastern Poland), lived among multiple interconnected cultural realities, defined by the transcultural space of the empire.

We can ask how the study of Gottlieb's painterly vocabulary might expand the interdisciplinary conversation about cultural forms that emerge in multilingual contexts and in spaces of transcultural encounters. Art history as a discipline is still largely rooted in mononational and predominantly Western European defined silos, even when considering art from empires. While subtle changes in the past decades have been made via the emergence of methodologies centered on non-Western and global modernism(s), these shifts are often still presented as an afterthought or considered only in relation to former colonial powers.[3] Gottlieb offers an illustrative example for the Austrian Empire's location at the edge of the so-called Western world, which presents itself as a fascinating borderland to study the interweaving of the perceived boundary between the Western and non-Western art worlds.

DIALECTICALLY HYBRID NATIONAL IDENTITY

As a result of the multivalent sociopolitical makeup of the Austrian Empire and Gottlieb's practice of combining multiple cultural realities in his work, one would be quick to consider the role that hybridity, conceptualized by Homi K. Bhabha, plays in the study of Gottlieb. Bhabha defines hybridity as in-between, "neither one nor the other."[4] On the surface, hybridity offers a great way to explain Gottlieb's melding of Polish and Jewish cultural imaginaries to create something bound between the two; however, as Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn discuss generally and as Tomasz Grusiecki does specifically in a Central European context, hybridity often assumes homogeneity where none exists and often perpetuates colonial power dominance.[5] As a part of the discussion between colonizer and colonized, hybridity places the two in a binary, from a Western European perspective, that is static and unchanging, to create an in-between space that reifies hierarchical norms. In my study of Gottlieb, built around the notions of Central European regional and national identity, the concept of hybridity is used sparingly so as not to erase the heterogeneity of the vast cultural output of the multiethnic and transcultural empire.

I combine hybridity with the method of *histoire croisée*, or entangled history, and the concept of the contact zone to ensure that the dialectical notions of Gottlieb's identity are not homogenized. Jeffrey D. Burson defines *histoire croisée* as the "meeting point or

intercrossing among various historical contexts," offering dimensionality to a study by ensuring that the diversity of transactions, interpretations, and reinterpretations that occur remain as the various historical and ethnic crossovers occur.[6] Mary Louise Pratt's idea of the contact zone, which refers to "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power," can help complicate the homogenizing effect of hybridity.[7] Though her study of the contact zone is rooted in Latin American colonialism, the concept can help us understand the multiplicity of cultural identities that manifest in Gottlieb's artistic language. The dynamic of the contact zone features two groups who observe each other and who have their own cultural imaginaries altered because of their mutual observations. The engagement between Jewish and non-Jewish Polish culture shares many of the same markers that Pratt defines in her study of the sustained encounter. Uneven power dynamics are key to the concept of the contact zone, and while Galicia may have lacked clear colonial hierarchies, uneven power dynamics between the imperial seat in Vienna and the Galician crownlands remained.

In this article, I reveal how Gottlieb enacted the sense of Jewish belonging in Polish lands, manifesting the burgeoning belief that Galicia had become a new Holy Land for the Jews. I offer an analysis of four of Gottlieb's paintings: two traditional self-portraits and two history paintings. These four paintings shed light on Gottlieb's practice as theatrical, for he cast himself as a main character in a variety of scenes: as a Polish noble, a Middle Eastern Jew, a follower of Jesus, and a Muslim expelled from medieval Spain. By placing himself into most of his creations, thus requiring that he engage in practices of Self-Othering, Gottlieb produced a body of work that can be read as enacting a program that sought to display the lived realities of this Jewish/Polish hybridity.

EXCLUSION AND BELONGING IN GALICIA

Gottlieb's lived reality has been largely ignored by art historical scholarship on the artist, which has belied this region's history. His blending of Polish and Jewish elements has instead been seen as an attempt to create a new universalist, all-encompassing religion. Larry Silver, for instance, claims that Gottlieb's staging of history can be viewed as proof of his desire to create a "more inclusive and universal religion."[8] This interpretation emphasizes ideas central to scholarship from the late 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, but it does not reflect the lived realities of nineteenth-century Poland. I argue that Gottlieb's work speaks to a conscious engagement with the polyphonic nature of Central European culture, characterized by dynamic forms of subjectivity and allegiance and the

intertwined nature of Polish and Jewish cultures. Gottlieb's practice of donning a variety of different cultural costumes to enact different national and cultural roles recalls seventeenth-century portraiture from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth era that combined Western and Ottoman stylistic motifs and costuming to place the portrait sitter "between different registers of cultural belonging."[9] Gottlieb goes beyond Commonwealth sartorial decisions, however, embellishing the dynamism of Jewish/Polishness by extending the natural contact between the European and Ottoman to include cultural mixing from far-flung regions to heighten the perception, and validity, of transcultural belonging.

Of course, even in the face of the long-developing Jewish autonomy, prejudice against Jews was significant both before Gottlieb's lifetime and beyond. The Catholic clergy's hold on Polish national identity made it difficult to distinguish ideas of a Polish nation from those of the Catholic Church.[10] Writing about the realities of antisemitism, the proto-Zionist philosopher Moses Hess firmly identifies the origins of anti-Jewish sentiments in his 1862 text *Rom und Jerusalem, die Letzte Nationalitätsfrage* [*Rome and Jerusalem: The Last National Question*] not in Jewish religious practices but in Jews' physical otherness, noting that reform, emancipation, assimilation, and conversion had no effect on the strength with which prejudice targeted Jews.[11] As Theodore R. Weeks cautions, both Jews and non-Jewish Poles held prejudices against each other, as any differing groups in proximity are likely to have.[12]

No matter the extent of antisemitism, the high demographic concentration of Jews in towns of the former Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth has led scholars to describe Jewish life in Galicia as one of living in a fully Jewish environment with a deep East Central European tradition.[13] This became increasingly vital to Polish national sentiments of the 1860s, when antisemitic tensions lessened to a degree as Jews supported Polish patriotic efforts.[14] Jewish and Polish cultural imaginaries bear the trace of the Other, since they operated in close proximity to each other for centuries and cooperated under common banners for a time.[15] This relationship was not perfect, but the two groups, who occupied the status of Other in their cultural formations, struck a balance between cooperation and tension. Galician Jews, as Samuel D. Kassow writes, benefited from the milder Habsburg rule than their Russian counterparts and thus received an "excellent Polish education," combined with increased Jewish national sentiments, leading to greater opportunities.[16] As a result, the phrase "Pole of the Mosaic persuasion" began to gain prominence, showing the intermingling Jerzy Holzer observes in his study of Galician Jewish Maskilim, who wrote and spoke in Polish (or German) while identifying Hebrew as the "Jewish language of the future."[17] The Maskilim were followers of the Haskalah, or the Jewish Enlightenment. Central to the Haskalah was the promotion of a Jewish

cultural renewal through the intermingling of traditional Jewish ideas with the secular Enlightenment in order to obtain more equal rights for European Jews. Maurycy Gottlieb's explorations of dialectically hybrid Jewish Poles come out of this tradition.

PAINTING A HYBRID JEWISH/POLISH GALICIAN WORLD

In his 1878 painting *Jews Praying in the Synagogue on Yom Kippur* (Fig. 3), Gottlieb brings visual form to the lived realities of Jews in Galicia. The scene depicts a traditional Galician synagogue, perhaps the one Gottlieb attended with his family, buoyed by his inclusion of numerous friends and family in the painting. Gottlieb himself, then 22 years old, placed himself in the scene thrice, most notably at his present age, dressed in a tallit (prayer shawl) with bright stripes, which makes him stand out from the other men

Fig. 3: Maurycy Gottlieb, *Jews Praying in the Synagogue on Yom Kippur,* 1878, oil on canvas, 243 × 190 cm. Tel Aviv Museum of Art, gift of Sydney J. Lamon, New York, through AICF, 1955 (Photo: Avraham Hai).

dressed in plain black-and-white tallitot. Gottlieb includes his father in the lower section and his mother and fiancé in the women's gallery above.[18] The reliance on familial connections in Gottlieb's painting brings to the forefront another prominent reality of Central European Jewry: the desire to move beyond antisemitism. Hess's study is helpful in interpreting Gottlieb's painting. Interwoven stories about familial love, community, and Torah study, resulted in a treatise with real-world applications for Jewish readers.[19] In *Jews Praying in the Synagogue on Yom Kippur* (Fig. 3), we see the presence of these three types of stories, for even with the somber mood of the Day of Atonement, love, community, and Torah study come together to define Jewish belonging in an attempt to find a positive affirmation of Jewish difference.

As a whole, Gottlieb's artworks enact the concurrent practices of rehabilitating antisemitic stereotypes and of reaffirming Jewish belonging in the Polish lands. Gottlieb's fascination with Jewish physiognomy further exemplifies the qualities of the autoethnographic, as described by Pratt in the contact zone as the response to the ethnographic.[20] An ethnographic text is defined by one group's observation of another, whereas an autoethnographic text is a narrative in which the author describes themselves through the lens of an outside observer. Building on Pratt's concept of the autoethnographic, Rolena Adorno describes how Guaman Poma's history of the Spanish conquest of Peru utilizes the autoethnographic as a kind of resistance: Poma weaves the published "facts" of the colonizer, oral traditions of his own people, and invented events to create what appears to be a historic account of the conquest, but it is actually "his argument in defense of the rights of the Andean people."[21] In Gottlieb's hands, the role of Jewish physiognomy and sartorial costuming carried out this sense of agency and resistance in support of Jewish belonging. This difference is made especially clear when we compare his skin tone in *Self-Portrait in Polish Nobleman's Dress* (Fig. 1), where he appears almost Caucasian, with peach-colored skin, to that in his 1876 *Self-Portrait as Ahasuerus* (Fig. 4), where he leans into the Orientalized version of Jews as non-European Other. For both Jews and non-Jews alike, the most straightforward method to extrapolate a Jewish Other in Europe was to link them back to their non-European homeland: the Middle East. By darkening Jews' skin tone and dressing them in Middle Eastern garb, non-Jewish (and later Jewish) artists were able to remove Jews from their place in Europe, even if many had lived there for centuries, and firmly place the Jewish people into the "exoticized" land of the East.

Gottlieb's play with Jewish physiognomy came after he returned to Galicia from Vienna, where he briefly attended the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. His time in the imperial capital shaped his relationship to Jewish and Polish cultures, resulting in his desire to find a way to meld the two into one. In Vienna, Gottlieb found himself at odds with the painting

Fig. 4: Maurycy Gottlieb, *Self-Portrait as Ahasuerus,* 1876, oil on canvas, 63 × 63 cm. National Museum in Krakow (Photo: National Museum in Krakow).

professor Karl Wurzinger over his antagonism toward the preeminent Polish Romantic nationalist painter Jan Matejko. Writing to his father about his failed time at the academy, Gottlieb claimed that he could not learn from someone whom he saw as an enemy of Polish painting.[22] Gottlieb left the school shortly thereafter and enrolled at the Szkoła Sztuk Pięknych [School of Fine Arts] in Kraków in 1873, under the direct tutelage of Matejko.

While he was the target of antisemitic attacks at the academy in Vienna, Gottlieb still identified something deeply "Polish" about his pursuit of the arts, something that could only be fostered by Matejko and in the Galician lands of the empire. One of the goals of his Kraków studies was to "comprehend the essence of Polish [and] Jewish relations," through the identification of past events that testified to cooperation and assistance between Jews and Poles.[23] After becoming a student of Matejko's, Gottlieb wrote of his Polish connection, in a letter from 1877, to his friend Walerian Kryciński: "I am a Pole and a Jew and, God willing, I wish to work for both nations."[24] The phrase directly expresses tension in his sense of belonging and his desire to belong to two ethnonational groups that had

historically lived together but also separately. His works thus bear the hallmarks of autoethnography. This desire to work for both his fellow Jews and Poles was manifested when he donned the dress of the participants of the 1863 January Uprising in his 1874 self-portrait while also lightening his skin tone to appear as kin to his Polish brethren (Fig. 1), showing Jews' ethical alignment under Russian control.

In the second painting, *Self-Portrait as Ahasuerus* (Fig. 4), Gottlieb swings the pendulum the other direction, this time embracing an Orientalized notion of the Jewish male, replete with a darker olive skin tone and wearing exotic garb, leaning into ideas of the Jew as non-European. Gottlieb, situated against a backdrop of deep reds and greens, wears a golden crown atop his head and extravagant earrings. The decision to name himself Ahasuerus is a peculiar one, since it holds a history of antisemitic tropes, making it more than a depiction of himself as an Orientalized Jewish man. The story of the Wandering Jew, in circulation as early as the thirteenth century, tells the tale of a sickly man who was condemned to roam the earth as penance for taunting Jesus on the cross.[25] Gottlieb's solemn expression recalls standard depictions of the Wandering Jew in the Western art historical canon, such as the images found in the French printmaker Gustave Doré's 1856 illustrated text *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Fig. 5), but it also challenges it. Doré's

Fig. 5: Gustave Doré, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew, 2: Too Late He Feels, by Look, and Deed, and Word, How Often He Has Crucified His Lord*, 1856, wood engraving on wove paper, 55 × 38.9 cm. The Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA, inv. no. 1977.55.3 (Photo: The Clark Institute, Williamstown, MA).

illustrations depict an elderly Jewish man as the Wandering Jew and are rife with signs of age and decrepitude. Gottlieb's Ahasuerus reclaims the image of the Wandering Jew, translating the myth to the realm of the living individual, portrayed with psychological and emotional complexity. Gottlieb's version strips the traditionally prejudiced value away from the story; the eternally condemned wanderer is replaced with a 22-year-old.

The psychological weight of the image remains in Gottlieb's self-portrait through his troubled, somber expression, though his inclusion of the jewelry offers a way out. The name Ahasuerus is also attributed to the Persian king who saved the Jews at the behest of his Jewish wife, Esther, in the Megillah of Esther. In the context of this traditional Purim story, which is accompanied by the theatrical practice of wearing costumes to become, at least temporarily, that which you are not, Gottlieb's exploration into his identity is firmly a Jewish action of self-reflection.[26] By donning jewelry, Gottlieb transforms himself into a member of an Orientalized royalty sent to save the Jews, thus embodying the exact opposite of the widespread depiction of the decrepit, elderly, and sickly Wandering Jew.[27] While both versions of Ahasuerus remain in a traditionally Orientalized world of the Near East, the connection to the Purim story and the custom of becoming one's opposite offered Gottlieb the recipe for his future acts of theatricality. The artist's amalgamation of the Wandering Jew Ahasuerus and the Persian King Ahasuerus becomes a tradaptation of the original antisemitic tale for the Jew in the diaspora, allowing for Gottlieb to reclaim and romanticize the suffering Jew.

Gottlieb also created compositions that affirmed Jewish belonging in the Polish lands through simultaneity, drawing out literary and cultural references that linked Jewish and Catholic ideologies. In 1878, he painted *Christ Preaching at Capernaum* (Fig. 6), transporting the architectural synagogue space from his Galician synagogue on the Day of Atonement to the Holy Land. In the front row, Gottlieb sits with his head slightly turned in deep thought as he contemplates Jesus's sermon. The non-Jewish press was mesmerized by Gottlieb. In their coverage of *Christ Preaching at Capernaum*, the critics of *Czas* [The Time] open their reportage of an exhibition from the Kraków School of Fine Arts with Gottlieb's painting. The broadly conservative-leaning newspaper pinpointed Gottlieb's ability to capture the meeting of Judaism and Christianity, underscoring the importance of the tension that emerges from the point of encounter between the two in Gottlieb's cultural imaginary.[28] They wrote with amazement that the work was "where religious painting meets historical painting" and showed not only an innate understanding of Christian ideas by the Jewish artist but also his last word, since the artist died before finishing the painting.[29] They note the peculiarity of "a Jew painting Christ, and in the synagogue, that is against the background of Judaism," but they conclude that Gottlieb was able to "put on

Fig. 6: Maurycy Gottlieb, *Christ Preaching at Capernaum*, 1878–1879, oil on canvas, 271.5 × 209 cm. National Museum in Warsaw (Photo: National Museum in Warsaw).

canvas something that has the depth and harmony" of Eastern (i.e., Jewish psalms) and Christian gospels and of Christ's divinity, even though "he did not yet understand the Gospel or have a premonition of Christ."[30] Gottlieb's two synagogue paintings (Figs. 3, 6) share more similarities than just the insertion of the artist into a biblical scene; they both manifest deep and resounding connections between the past and present, and between the Holy Land and the Polish land.

With his 1877 painting *The Expulsion of the ~~Moors~~ from Granada* (Fig. 7),[31] the Jewish/Polish artist takes the viewer back to the fifteenth century and across the European continent to the Iberian Peninsula to issue Poles and Jewish Poles alike a warning against the encroaching dominance of ethnonationalism. In the painting, we see two groups of people gathered around an outcropping on a hill. Atop the mountain peak, a mosque is a testament to the longevity of the Muslim presence on the peninsula. The central male in

Fig. 7: Maurycy Gottlieb, *The Expulsion of the ~~Moors~~ from Granada,* 1877, oil on canvas, 36 × 26.5 cm. Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź (Photo: Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź).

the closer group, who looks over his shoulder at the city of Granada below, is none other than the artist himself. Now an Iberian Muslim, he flees from Spain after his expulsion and gazes down at the city he has always called home. In terms of his interest in physiognomy, Gottlieb chose to darken his skin even more than he did in his Ahasuerus portrait (Fig. 3), placing himself as kin to his Muslim brethren. Choosing to depict their expulsion rather than an event from the centuries of coexistence between Muslims, Jews, and Christians in Iberia, perhaps Gottlieb wished to highlight the failure that resulted in the end after centuries of cooperation on the peninsula and to bridge the gap between the end of Iberian coexistence and the future he saw in Central Europe as he battled increasingly severe antisemitism and bourgeoning ethnonationalism.

MOVING TOWARD DIALECTICALLY HYBRID NATIONAL IMAGINARIES

In his self-portraits and history paintings, Gottlieb positioned himself as a nexus between Jew and non-Jewish Pole, and they can be read as evidence of a Jewish/Polish dialectically hybrid form of identity. As a part of this performance of simultaneous belonging and exclusion, Gottlieb used his work to issue a call to action for Poles and Jews to build a community that recalled the coexistence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth era. Before his death, Gottlieb planned a grand series of history paintings, drawing on Matejko's series on Polish history, that would highlight the influence that Jews had in the Polish lands. Gottlieb intended for the series to consider the Jewish relationship with King Casimir III the Great (1310–1370) by emphasizing events such as the Jews asking for entry into the realm, being granted rights by the king, and Casimir's romantic entanglements with Esther.[32] This series, known through sketches and letters, would have helped connect his oeuvre and demonstrate the interplay between his European and more ethnically charged personas in his self-portraits and history paintings.

Treated together, Gottlieb's work defined a specific form of hybrid identity that came out of the struggle within an increasingly mononationalized discourse that surrounded the young artist. Seeking to create something that could move along the spectrum from Polish to Jewish with flexibility, Gottlieb expressed the simultaneity and multiplicity inherent in identity. While discussing *Jews Praying in the Synagogue on Yom Kippur* (Fig. 2), Ezra Mendelsohn observes that "there was surely no reason why the men and women praying in the synagogue, while remaining true to their faith and customs, might not also be loyal and respected sons and daughters of Poland."[33] Gottlieb's extensive body of work challenges the notion that belonging to a nation is solely defined by ethnicity and cultural homogeneity. We can leverage Gottlieb's intertwined identity as a lens through which to read other cultural-national imaginaries, further complicating our understanding of how such forms of identification develop.

NOTES

1 POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, "Gottlieb's Lost Work of Art … to Be Displayed at the POLIN Museum Core Exhibition!," *News* (blog), December 16, 2020, https://polin.pl/en/news/2020/12/16/gottliebs-lost-work-art-be-displayed-polin-museum-core-exhibition.

2 I am adopting Karen Underhill's use of the slashed term "Jewish/Polish," which calls attention to the difficulty in some contexts of clearly separating Jewish and Polish as descriptors while also avoiding the hierarchical implications in our existing vocabulary of "Polish-Jewish" and "Polish and Jewish." See Karen Underhill, "Re-Judaizing the Polish (Studies) Landscape: The Doikeyt Model," *East European Politics and Societies: And Cultures* 28, no. 4 (November 2014): 693–703, 702n1.

3 The debate over the Western focus of the art historical canon, even after the global turn, has long been a topic among art historians. For in-depth discussions of canon after the global turn, as well as general critiques of the Western European and US focus of canon, see Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "Art History and the Global: Deconstructing the Latest Canonical Narrative," *Journal of Global History* 14, no. 3 (2019): 413–435, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022819000196; Anna Brzyski, ed., *Partisan Canons* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Beáta Hock, "Is There Life after Canonical Certainties?," *Umění: Časopis Ústavu dějin umění Akademie věd České republiky/Art: Journal of the Institute of Art History Czech Academy of Sciences* 69, no. 2 (2021): 163–167.

4 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 180.

5 Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (June 1, 2003): 5–35, 5–7; Tomasz Grusiecki, "Uprooting Origins: Polish-Lithuanian Art and the Challenge of Pluralism," in *Globalizing East European Art Histories: Past and Present*, ed. Beáta Hock and Anu Allas (New York: Routledge, 2018): 25–38, 35.

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7 Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (1991): 33–40, 34.

8 Larry Silver, "Between Tradition and Acculturation: Jewish Painters in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in *The Emergence of Jewish Artists in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Susan Tumarkin Goodman and Richard I. Cohen (London: Merrell, 2001): 123–142, 129.

9 Grusiecki 2018, 25 (see note 5).

10 Theodore R. Weeks, "Jews and Poles, 1860–1914: Assimilation, Emancipation, Antisemitism," in *Poland and Hungary: Jewish Realities Compared*, ed. François Guesnet, Howard Lupovitch, and Antony Polonsky, Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry 31 (Liverpool: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2018): 121–142, 123.

11 Hess's deeply provocative and impassioned language in the 1862 text *Rome and Jerusalem* is understandable, but as with much of the primary and secondary literature on antisemitism, it has the potential to be historicized so that the Holocaust becomes an eventual certainty. Moses Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem: A Study in Jewish Nationalism* (New York: Bloch, 1918), 58–59.

12 Weeks 2018, 122 (see note 10).

13 Magda Teter, "How Jewish Is the History of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth?," in *Multicultural Commonwealth: Poland-Lithuania and Its Afterlives*, ed. Stanley Bill and Simon Lewis (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2023): 27–44, 29.

14 Magdalena Opalski and Israel Bartal, *Poles and Jews: A Failed Brotherhood* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1992).

15 Alina Cała, "The Question of the Assimilation of Jews in the Polish Kingdom (1864–1897): An Interpretive Essay," in *Poles and Jews: Renewing the Dialogue*, ed. Antony Polonsky, Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry 1 (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004): 130–150.

16 Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 17.

17 Opalski and Bartal 1992, 42 (see note 14); Jerzy Holzer, "Enlightenment, Assimilation, and Modern Identity: The Jewish Élite in Galicia," in *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles and Ukrainians 1772–1918*, ed. Israel Bartal and Antony Polonsky, Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry 12 (Liverpool: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1999): 79–85, 84.

18 Larry Silver, "Jewish Identity in Art and History: Maurycy Gottlieb as Early Jewish Artist," in *Jewish Identity in Modern Art History*, ed. Catherine M. Soussloff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 87–113, 100.

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20 Pratt 1991, 35 (see note 7).

21 Rolena Adorno, "Contradicting the Chronicles of Conquest," in *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000): 13–35, 15.

22 Maurycy Gottlieb, "Letter to his father, Yitzhak," בילטוג, יצירואמ, 1872-1924, לומיס Schwad 01 03 25 סהרבא ויסוא סיפרגוטוא - וורדבש, סיפרגוטוא - וורדבש סהרבא ויסוא [Gottlieb, Mauritzi, 1872–1924, Schwad reference 01 03 25 Avraham Shevdron Collection—Autographs, Avraham Shevdron Collection—Autographs, National Library of Israel], https://www.nli.org.il/en/archives/NNL_ARCHIVE_AL990035407950205171/NLI.

23 Jerzy Malinowski, *Maurycy Gottlieb* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1997), 74.

24 Quoted in Malinowski 1997, 69 (see note 23).

25 Archer Taylor, "Notes on the Wandering Jew," *Modern Language Notes* 33, no. 7 (1918): 394–398, 394.

26 Jeffrey Rubenstein, "Purim, Liminality, and Communitas," *AJS Review* 17, no. 2 (1992): 247–277.

27 Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Inside/Out: Jewishness Imagines Emancipation," in Goodman and Cohen 2001 (see note 8): 41–47, 44.

28 Quoted in Ezra Mendelsohn, *Painting a People: Maurycy Gottlieb and Jewish Art* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2002), 165.

29 "tam gdzie się styka malarstwo religijne z malarstwem historycznym." "Wystawa Szkoly Sztuk Pięknych," *Czas: Dziennik Poświęcony Polityce Krajowej i Zagranicznej Oraz Wiadomościom Literackim, Rolniczym i Przemysłowym*, July 29, 1879: 1; my translation.

30 "Żyd malujący Chrystusa i to w Synagodze, więc na tle judaizmu"; "umiejący przelać na płótno coś, co ma głębią i harmonia"; "a choć nierozumiejący jeszacze Ewangelii przeczuwający bóatwo Chrystusowe." See "Wystawa Szkoly Sztuk Pięknych" 1897, 1 (see note 29).

31 Editorial note: This term is struck through in the text since it is considered racist.

32 Maria Milanowska and Marta Herudzińska-Oświecimska, *Maurycy Gottlieb: W poszukiwaniu tożsamości/In Search of Identity* (Łódź: Muzeum Sztuki/Muzeum Narodowe, 2014), 90.

33 Mendelsohn 2002, 206 (see note 28).

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